1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

The genealogies which related members of one segment to those of another were made up not only of links from father to son but also from lord to dependant, and were expressed in terms of the names of segments rather than the names of the people who headed them. A man related himself to the Paramount Chief not by his own genealogy but by the pedigree of the segment to which he belonged.[39] Although the number of links in such a pedigree may have been half a dozen or more, it did not cover more than two or three generations, whereas in most lineage systems remembered genealogies cover many more generations. The present kinship nomenclature, which mainly employs words of Nsenga origin, does not group relatives on a lineage, or segmental, basis but by generation. Presumably the system of nomenclature in use during the early stages of the Ngoni migration was similar to the present Zulu system in which lineage categories are used slightly. Tribes like the Shona and Cewa, from whom many captives were taken, employ systems of nomenclature with great lineage emphasis, but this emphasis is patrilineal among the former and matrilineal among the latter. The difficulty of combining patrilineal and matrilineal categories may have prompted the emergence of a generation system of nomenclature.[40]

Another point of difference between the Ngoni and many people with lineage systems is that, other than possibly the rites associated with choosing a new village site, there seem to have been no ritual observances or ancestor cult which would have differentiated one segment from another and united the various segments of lower order within a higher one. The only ancestors to whom supplication was made were those of the Paramount Chief. They were believed to be concerned with the well-being of the whole nation, and when sacrifices were made to them, the officiants were not their agnatic descendants but the Paramount Chief's lieutenants. We may, however, regard the byre in the headquarters village as a ceremonial, rather than a ritual, centre for a large segment.

In these four respects the Ngoni residential system differed from most lineage systems. On the other hand, in respect of other criteria it was like them. A segment recognized its identity and unity in contrast to other groups; rights and obligations of segment membership were distinguished from those of kinship; segments endured in time beyond the death of their founding members;

[39] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 466.

[40] cf. Barnes, 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 221-5; Gluckman, 'Kinship and marriage', pp. 170-1; Holleman, *Hera kinship*, pp. 1-18; Pretorius, 'Terms of relationship', pp. 44-8.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

7. *Villages*

Throughout Ngoni history the village has been an easily recognizable residential unit. Many of the pre-conquest villages, particularly those which were headquarters of major segments, were large clusters of huts with thousands of inhabitants. Although there are none of comparable size to-day, the concept of the village remains. The bulk of the present Ngoni rural population live in discrete clusters of huts housing between fifty and two hundred people. These we call villages. Each village is spatially distinct from the next, and generally is surrounded by garden land and bush.

The post of headman of a single village has never been very important in the scheme of administration. Under the 1903 scheme, district headmen were appointed in charge of groups of villages. After 1916 this term was dropped in favour of minor chief, sub-chief or headman of a group of villages. The men referred to by these names were the people who became county chiefs. Below them no individuals were appointed as leaders of social groups. From at least 1904 onwards there were men called district messengers who carried ornamental spears as badges of office and who carried out the instructions of the Native Commissioner. They had the functions of policemen and messengers, although some of them were heads of villages in their own right. In 1916, the title of these men was changed to divisional headmen, and they were described as being heads of groups of villages. Nevertheless, at least among the Ngoni, most divisional headmen continued to act merely as messengers and police, and leadership of groups of villages continued to rest with the variously styled minor chiefs. After 1929 the work of divisional headmen was taken over partly by the Native Authority messengers and partly by land messengers, who are Government (Boma) messengers sent to live rurally from time to time.

Yet although the office of village headman has not been of Administrative significance, the village has always been an important social group. We have seen that even in pre-conquest times, when the State as a whole was much more concentrated spatially than it is now, the fact of common residence was of significance within the segmentary residential system. The village had a central cattle byre. Its headman was known by a special term and once a primal segment had grown to village size the segment name was not applied to any residual segment within the headquarters village. The policy of the Administration, combined with a change in kinship relations among the tribe (a change from the quasi-

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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[601] agnation of the small segments to what I have termed an omni-directional system), has increased the importance of the single village. After 1898 the Administration endeavoured to bring the people back into villages of moderate size which could be easily supervised by the Administration acting through chiefs.[22] In 1912 a comprehensive scheme of Native reserves was proposed. To facilitate the introduction of the scheme, many small villages were amalgamated with others near by to form units of forty huts or more. The larger groups of composite villages were to form the nuclei of the reserves.[23] After 1930, when villages began to spread out again, many of the enforced amalgamations came to an end. The Administrative rules that every man must live in a recognized village and that a village with less than ten tax-paying men could not be recognized were not always enforced, although they were not repealed until 1945. Administrative recognition has been an important consideration in determining the size of villages but it has not been the only one.

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178 In the residential system, the process of segmentation did not stop with the founding of the segments we now know as county segments. Already in 1898 there were very many more segments in being than the few we have shown in Diagram 1. There we have indicated the position of the major branches of the tree of State but have omitted the hundreds of minor limbs and thousands of twigs which made up the whole. Even if we restrict our attention to segments founded before 1898 we find within any county segment to-day many smaller groups, some of them divisions, others single villages, and a few containing several villages, which are in fact inferior segments formed by one or other of the processes we discussed in Chapter I. Lieutenants and others have made their own segments, junior sons have left their natal villages, and so on. The processes of segment formation since 1898 have not been identical with those prevailing before the conquest, for the quasi-agnatic structure of segments has been modified and segments of recent formation, if in fact we can legitimately call them segments at all, are not organized in the same hierarchical manner as in the old residential system. We shall discuss the formation of small social groups in a later part of our study, the analysis of village life.
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621 Here, at the county level, we have to deal with what is essentially a continuation of a pre-conquest process. Each successive head of a county segment, i.e. each county chief, has formed his own new segment within that of his predecessor. Thus, for instance, where

[22] *Reports on the Administration*, 1902, p. 2, and 1903, p. 2.
[23] *M.R.A.*, p. 108.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

guardianship of his father's spirit, or she could take over the *indlunkulu* while a co-widow of the Queen Mother inherited the guardianship of the spirit in her own hut. The second alternative was the one followed in all the instances remembered by informants. In both kingdoms the spirits of the main line of the Paramounts were guarded by someone appointed to that task, chosen on the grounds of reputation and reliability. There was yet another variant in the central kingdom, where, as we have seen, it was Manga, the daughter of Mputa, who succeeded to her mother's guardianship of his spirit. The one principle which emerged from a number of cases cited in both kingdoms, was that occupancy of the *indlunkulu* and guardianship of a spirit might be undertaken by the same person, but generally it did not work out that way.

The Royal Sister, a title equivalent to the English Princess Royal, was the older full sister of the Paramount by the same mother, or his older sister by his father's big wife if she had borne no son. She was always referred to as 'the one who would have been chief if she had been a man'. She stood in a special relationship to the reigning Paramount and to the Paramount-elect. She was in constant touch with the Paramount's children who used the name *dadakazi* (female father) when addressing her or referring to her. Dr. Kuper [1] reported that the Royal Sister among the Swazi was addressed by the same term, and that she came next in rank to the big wife and the leading wives. My informants and my own observations in both Ngoni kingdoms put the Royal Sister next to the big wife and before the other wives. She visited the royal village at frequent intervals to see her brother and his children, and was consulted about their affairs. She took a leading part in the puberty ritual for the daughters of her brother and was prominent at *ligubo* and other dances, and at mourning ceremonies. She was married with an exchange of cattle to a man of a leading Swazi or trans-Zambesi clan, and during his lifetime lived in his village, visiting the royal village often.

The position of the royal women in the Ngoni kingdoms has been discussed in terms of the sister, mother and big wife of the Paramount. The same relationships were found in the families of the chiefs and *alumuzana*. There the equivalent of the Royal Sister was the older full sister by the same mother of the chief or *mulumuzana*, and his own big wife and his father's big wife played similar roles, within their own spheres, to those played in the Paramount's village by the Queen Mother and his big wife.

Five texts follow which illustrate the life and activities of leading women who filled roles equivalent to those of Royal Sister, big wife and Queen Mother. One of the texts is by a Royal Sister—Bambo Manga, who was the sister of Paramount Cikusi in the central kingdom. Margaret Jere was the elder full sister of the heir to the chieftanship of

[1] Kuper, H. op. cit. p. 59.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

III

'A New Stranger has come'

In these words the father's mother announced from the door of the hut that a child had been born. From inside the hut the women assisting the mother at the time of delivery had given a single cry if it was a boy and two cries for a girl. If the birth had been delayed till late afternoon towards sunset, the women in the hut said to the mother, if it was a boy: 'See the baby has been awaiting the return of the cattle, because it is he who will tend the cattle.'

The new baby was at first regarded as a stranger, born by a woman who had herself come to the village as a stranger when she married. In later years, when speaking of his parents, the child would say: 'X is my father, and I am of the womb of A, and G and H they are my brother and my sister of one womb.' This particularization of a full brother and sister was used to correct the extended use of the kinship terms, and also to convey the idea that having been born from the womb of one woman gave children a special relationship important in Ngoni thinking.

Preparation for birth

When an Ngoni wife was aware that she was pregnant she did not say anything to her husband, and indeed endeavoured to conceal her condition from him as long as possible, continuing the normal sleeping arrangements and intercourse. Ngoni women liked to assert their authority and ascendancy on those occasions, and therefore excluded the men from knowledge of the coming event and from all preparations for it. The senior women used to say, 'Men are

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

561 related to a young child by kinship, there were three distinct
855 age-groups. Nearest in age to him were his older sisters,
602 children of his own mother, of his father's other wives, and of his father's brothers' wives. When he began to talk he
[601] addressed all these as 'sister', or rather as 'my sister', and they took a kindly interest in him, especially if he were a boy and therefore to be removed from them when the time came for him to live in the boys' dormitory. They played with him, they sometimes carried him about while the nurse girl
[262] did something else, they ground bulrush millet or roasted ground-nuts to give him as snacks. They were particularly
[868] concerned with teaching him to speak correctly, to say the right names for things, to use the correct terms for older
[533] people, and later to sing the refrains of little songs in their singing games.

Above this sister group in age came his own mother and his other 'mothers', who were his father's other wives and his father's brothers' wives. All of them he was taught to
[601] address as 'my mother'. His father's sisters on the other hand, who took a special interest in his upbringing, he addressed as 'woman father', and the name implied some
[554] measure of the authority which his father and his father's brothers exercised in the household and in the village.

Above this generation of mothers and woman-fathers came the grandmothers. Pre-eminent in supervising his life
[601] and the care taken of him was his father's own mother, but he also addressed as 'grandmother' his grandfather's other wives and his grandfather's brothers' wives.

561 The same triple grouping by age and generation, which
357 the child learned by degrees to distinguish among his own kin, was repeated among the 'helpers' in his mother's and grandmother's households. There were young children who were the children of the household staff. His nurse girl and her fellow nurse girls formed a slightly senior group in this division, both by reason of their responsibilities as well as of their age. Above them, as the next generation, were the

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

women helpers of his mother's age, one or two of whom had come with her at her marriage to attend her, and who themselves had married in her new village. Above them again were the older women helpers of his grandmother's generation, themselves grandmothers, whom he addressed as 'grandmother', as he did his own grandparents.

There were other sets of people whom the young child saw less often. When he visited his mother's relatives in her old home, he enjoyed all the allurement a child feels for living in a different place among people who want to gratify his every wish. Sometimes the maternal relatives visited the child's home, but then their relationship with him was on more formal terms. They did not dare for example to give him titbits in private, or to pet him, or even to correct him, lest his father's relatives might notice and remind them: 'This is *our* child.'

Other strangers came and went all the time, and the child learned to distinguish between the village inhabitants and those he, and others, designated as 'strangers'. He saw mostly the women who were entertained in the compound of his grandmother. He was sometimes taken by his mother when she went to greet strangers by the big house, and he learned early that he was not expected to make a noise or call attention to himself in the presence of these strangers.

In this women's world the higher age-group in each status group, that is of relatives and helpers, carried the chief authority, gave orders, and rebuked all below them for breaches of etiquette or failure to carry out commands. For the small child, the whole superstructure of authority in the women's world built round his daily life a sense of security, partly because it was so ordered and so little variable. When the Ngoni said, 'A child belongs to all the village. They can all cherish him and correct him,' they really meant this women's world, organized through the households and the families and the houses. The child's needs for food and sleep, washing and warmth, care when sick, were taken care of

upbringing, they would be unwilling to consider an alliance if the girl's mother were known to be a doubtful character or a careless housewife. The girl's prospects in marriage depended not only on her own reputation and character, but on the household milieu in which she was known to have grown up.

The Ngoni girls in this circle were not only an exclusive group. They were a carefully guarded and protected one. The surveillance of the grandmother, as the woman head of the girl's father's house, was dominant. Besides watching to see if the girl's home was proving a satisfactory training ground, she chose a 'companion' or 'attendant' for the girl, to take the place of the nurse girl. She was a little older than the Ngoni girl, but near enough in age to enjoy and enter into all her occupations and amusements. This companion, chosen from among the helpers in the grandmother's household, grew up with the Ngoni girl, waited on her to some extent, went everywhere with her, slept in the same hut and ate in the same household.

In her daily life in the village an Ngoni girl had in her circle all those whom she called 'sisters' and their companions. There was one exception to the exclusiveness of this group, and that was the school. Many Ngoni fathers who decided that school was a good thing for their boys, decided that it would also be wise to send their girls to school, especially if they showed signs of exceptional ability and leadership. This was sometimes carried through in the teeth of opposition from the grandmother, but the father usually won the day. For Ngoni girls school was an escape from the relative dullness and monotony of compound life, as also from the continual surveillance which became stricter as they grew older and entered the immature girls' group. The Ngoni girls enjoyed mixing with boys, being taught by men, learning to read and write, hearing Bible stories. The daughters of Ngoni chiefs and heads of leading clans were easily distinguishable in the schools by their controlled and dignified behaviour in class and in the playground. They were not

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

APPENDIX

HOUSE, HUT, HOUSEHOLD, house is used in this book for the Ngoni system of grouping round the leading women who were wives or mothers of the head of the village. Hut is used for the actual building. Household is used for a group of huts within a compound, (See diagrams in Chapter IV. See also *Ngoni of Nyasaland* page 122).

PATRILOCAL), refers to residence of young couple after marriage

MATRILOCAL), —sometimes called virilocal and uxorilocal.

CLASSIFICATORY KINSHIP TERMS, extension of use of father, mother, brother, sister etc. to wide range of relatives.

PARALLEL COUSINS, children of father's brothers or mother's sisters—regarded as brothers and sisters and called such.

CROSS COUSINS, children of father's sisters or mother's brothers—with whom marriage was possible.

AGE-SETS, the special Ngoni terms are given in 'Ngoni of Nyasaland' page 144.

all children: *abantwana*

young men: *amajaha*

young girls before puberty: *inkakazana*

young girls after puberty: *izintombi*

III

VERNACULAR TERMS

ARULU	the important people
ALEZI	nursemaids
GOGO	grandparent or any very senior person
HLONIPA	respect
INDLUNKULU	chief hut in a village
INDUNA	official in village
ISIDANDANI	girl attendants
LAWENI	boys' dormitory
NWINI	owner—of a hut, cattle, dance group

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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her pro-husband. If there was no younger brother the pro-husband was one of her husband's junior patrilineal kinsmen of his own generation. She could not refuse a pro-husband although her husband's brothers could choose not to provide her with a pro-husband if they so wished. The widow continued to live in her own cluster where her pro-husband came to visit her. Rattray states that widows waited one year after their husband's death before their re-marriage was settled[82] and this is nowadays the traditional procedure. Wiese, however, writes that widows waited four years before they could marry again.[83] The children begotten by the pro-husband were regarded as children of the dead man for social purposes but the identity of their genitor was not disguised. They called him *father*, but this was as much because he was their dead pater's brother and their mother's pro-husband as because he was their genitor.

The same principle of substitution was applied to betrothal. If a man died before marrying a girl to whom he was betrothed, the betrothal passed to a younger brother or a classificatory brother. If a girl died before marrying the man to whom she was betrothed, the betrothal passed to a younger sister. Unlike the operation of the levirate, however, the children of this type of marriage were regarded as the children of their genitor and genetrix for all purposes, as though their parents had been betrothed to each other in the first place. Again, unlike the levirate, if a man considered himself too old when his betrothed became marriageable he might give her instead to his son as a wife. The children of this marriage were also regarded for all purposes as the children of their genitor and genetrix.

Occasionally a woman whose husband died young, went to live with a man who was not her dead husband's brother, real or classificatory. The pro-husband gave a goat to the woman, but if bride-wealth had been offered for her by her first husband, the pro-husband could never gain permanent custody of the children. The children that she bore by him belonged to the segment of the dead man, took his descent name, and when old enough went to live in his segment. When the dead man's kinsmen claimed these children, they gave a beast to their genitor 'to straighten his back', that is, for his labour in begetting them. This arrangement is in some ways analagous to Nuer widow-concubinage[84] but with the important difference that the pro-husband, although not a kinsman of the dead man, had rights in the widow as a wife and an exclusive right to her sexual services. It seems that the status of a widow living in this kind of union was not low. In one instance I heard of, very aristocratic families were involved, and the arrangement appears to have been

[82] Rattray, op. cit., p. 97.
[83] Wiese, op. cit. 'Expedição . . .', p. 474, and 'Geschichte . . .', p. 192.
[84] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *Some Aspects of Marriage and Family Among the Nuer* (Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. Eleven), p. 18.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Mwavi FR4
Wisa FQ5

N 584 her by her parents, but the general rule is that people seek their own partners. Certain rules have to be considered by whoever is N 582 trying to arrange the match. These determine which marriages are regarded as incestuous, and which marriages are preferred. The kinship relationship, age, ethnic group, and religion of the partner all have to be considered. With the passing of the regimental system, considerations of State no longer affect choice of marriage partner, except for near relatives of the chiefs.

A man may not marry anyone whom he addresses with a kinship N term belonging to the first ascending or the first descending ● [601] generation. This prohibits marriage between ego and his *mothers, fathers, mothers, brothers, affines*, and *children*.[1] In his own generation he cannot marry his *child's parents-in-law* and he cannot marry any *sibling* who is not a *cross-cousin*. In the second ascending and N 603 descending generation a man may address his female *grandparent* 602 and his female *grandchild* as *wife*, and be can, to a slight extent, joke and refer in general terms to sexual activities in their presence. N [582] But Ngoni regard it as a typical Cewa custom for a man actually to [186] marry his female *grandchild*, and do not approve of such marriages among their own people. A man may fondle the breasts of his grandmother and suggest in the company of others at a beer drink that his granddaughter should marry him, but that is as far as this joking goes.

N 605 A man is entitled, and to some extent expected, to flirt with his female *cross-cousins*. We have noted above that the Nguni peoples W from whom the leaders of the Ngoni kingdom were drawn did not 582 allow cross-cousin marriage. By contrast the Cewa and Wisa peoples, who were captured in large numbers from about 1870 on, came from societies in which local organization was based on bilateral intra-village cross-cousin marriage. In villages where there are now many people claiming Cewa and Wisa descent there are many instances of cross-cousin marriage. This form of marriage is by no means confined to people of low ethnic status, and even the Paramount Chief has married classificatory cross-cousins. In the aristocratic families it is sometimes suggested that an important man might marry a cross-cousin while still young and unable to muster a large marriage payment and then later marry an unrelated woman as his great wife. No distinction is made between marriage N with father's sister's daughter and with mother's brother's daughter. 582 The somewhat equivocal attitude towards cross-cousin marriage 583 is seen in the conflicting statements of informants about payments in cross-cousin marriages. Some say that no payments ought to be made, for are they not all one family (*banja*). If payments were made it would mean that the family had split. Others say that payments can and ought to be made and that provided the cross-

[1] For the definition of these terms, see Barnes, op. cit. pp. 222 ff

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Maravi FR4

cousin comes from another village she can become the great wife. This lack of consensus about the appropriateness of payments may be due to the difference between the traditional views of the Nguni aristocrats and of their more recent captives. The Nguni tribes, although not allowing cross-cousin marriage, did require transfers of marriage cattle. In contrast to them, the Cewa and others who approved of cross-cousin marriages did not make large marriage payments. It may be that neither view has prevailed over the other among the present-day Ngoni.

When I began my inquiries into marriage I hoped to express numerically the frequencies with which people married their cross-cousins and other relatives. As my inquiries proceeded, it became clear that this was not the simple matter I had thought it to be. There was little consistency in the way in which the word *mzyala*, which I have translated as cross-cousin, was used by different informants. Sometimes one spouse would say that the other was a cross-cousin and the other would deny it. In addition to the expected use of the term to refer to father's own or classificatory sister's child, and to mother's own or classificatory brother's child, it was also used for 'person with a parent with the same descent-name as mine', 'person from the same tribe', 'person with the same captor', and so on. Some informants regarded the alleged cross-cousin relationship as a primary one that could not necessarily be broken down into a series of links between parents and children and between siblings. If pressed, informants would often say in explanation 'One of us came from the side of the man and the other from the side of the woman'; yet they would be unable to decide who came from the man's side and who from the woman's. This complexity of reference of the term for cross-cousin applies to a lesser extent to the terms for other relatives with whom marriage takes place. In view of the lack of consensus and of the large number of possible referents of single vernacular terms, I have thought it best to postpone publication of any frequencies until later, when I hope to deal with the general problem of inter-connectedness between local groups of kin.

We have mentioned above the prohibitions against marrying certain relatives and the partial encouragement to marry a cross-cousin. In addition, a man should not marry his brother's wife's sister, and some people say that a man ought not to marry his sister's husband's sister. Both these women he calls *sibling-in-law*. These are not exactly definite prohibitions, but rather pieces of traditional advice. Marriage with these relatives does occur. No specific reason was given for this prohibition, but I noticed that a quarrel in one marriage tended to have repercussions in the marriages of the spouses' siblings, and the objection to these types of marriage may be based on some consideration of this kind.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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Marqvi FR4

N 581 583

Case history 1

Amos[1] was married to Eve and wished to offer bridewealth for her. Amos's father prevented him, saying that the marriage of Amos's sister with Eve's father's son had not yet proved a success and and he did not want at this stage to bind himself any further to Eve's kinsfolk.

N 614 613 [582 601]

There are no exogamous clans among the Ngoni but sometimes an agnatic lineage has a distinctive descent-name, giving it the appearance of an exogamous clan. Kinship terms are used within the lineage and members may not marry one another. As, however, descent is not usually traced, either actually or putatively, beyond the grandparents of adults these exogamous groupings are small and do not persist in time.

N 563

Tribal preferences are not marked. In the past the Ngoni were prepared to capture and incorporate into their society anyone who came in their path. At the same time there was an association of South-Eastern Bantu origin with high rank, although this was never developed into a rigid system of ethnic ranking. Nowadays Ngoni live in the midst of people from other tribes, in the adjacent reserves, on the tobacco farms, in Fort Jameson township and at the urban centres. A man may sometimes be ridiculed if he marries a Cewa girl but many men do so, particularly if they live in Cewa-speaking villages under Ngoni chiefs. Wealthy Cewa men from Cewa chiefdoms who wish to bequeath their property to their sons sometimes marry Ngoni women and offer bridewealth for them, hoping thereby to prevent their sister's sons disputing the inheritance. There are many men on farms and in the township coming from distant areas whose tribe may be uncertain or unknown but who manage to marry Ngoni girls. The only strong antagonism is against the Nyasaland Yao. Yao find it difficult to marry into aristocratic Ngoni families and even when they do their rights are never certain. The Yao are regarded by the Ngoni as clever sorcerers and are thought to have an excess of sexual vigour.

N [361] M 581 [828] N 182 581

N 595 648 582

A few women become the concubines of European or Indian men. Such unions lack much of the substance of marriage, although the man sometimes makes a present to the woman's relatives which is interpreted as a marriage payment. These men are not usually concerned with establishing the validity of the marriage, if marriage it is. They cannot take action against their wives in the Native Courts, nor can they hope for redress in the Administration's courts. Although the Administration assists women to secure maintenance of the children, it does not recognize these unions as legal marriages. In vernacular speech they are referred to as marriages and, despite the protestations in recent years of more sophisticated Africans, these women are not despised in the rural areas. A woman who

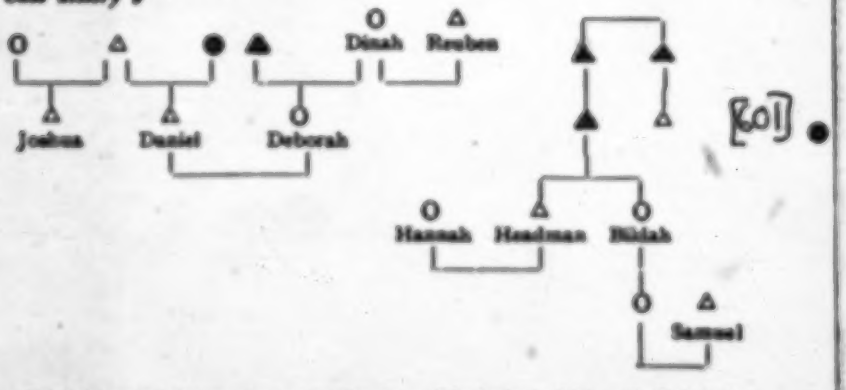
[1] All personal names in this paper are fictitious. I have used Biblical names as these are common among the Ngoni. Where an individual is mentioned in more than one case history I have retained the same fictitious name throughout.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

precipitate an open quarrel by staying away from his wife, by eating elsewhere or by threatening divorce. Fights in the village, provided the parties concerned do not hurry off to court, are dealt with first at a village meeting, and even where the combatants are not man and wife, the elucidation of the cause of the fight may bring to light a latent marital quarrel which must then be dealt with by the relatives. Accusations of adultery must be denied, and a woman may call in her relatives to protect her from the slander of a jealous woman.

The processes by which a quarrel between man and wife comes to light, and the attempts of kinsfolk to resolve the quarrel, are well illustrated by the following account of an adulterous wife.

Case history 9



Daniel was a labour migrant in Southern Rhodesia and his wife Deborah was living meanwhile in the village of her mother's husband Reuben. The headman of this village had himself returned from the railway line a year previously. At a beer party Deborah quarrelled with Hannah the headman's wife, who accused Deborah of sleeping with the headman and who started to fight her. A meeting was held in the village to settle the affair. Deborah denied that she had ever slept with the headman and the headman denied that he had ever slept with her. Hannah retorted that she did not like to see her husband running after other women and always talking to Deborah. Reuben and a neighbour of his said that they could say nothing in the matter as Deborah was a married woman, and they called on Joshua, who was Daniel's father's son, to speak. He had come from his own village to attend the meeting. Joshua said that Hannah had not actually caught Deborah sleeping with her husband the headman, and that therefore Hannah had done wrong in accusing Deborah without good reason. Hannah had also erred in making accusations that would make Deborah's brothers-in-law think that Deborah was committing adultery. The headman had also erred and should stop talking to Deborah, or else the brothers-in-law of Deborah would take him to court for drinking beer at night with Deborah, who was a married woman.

Hannah then admitted that she had done wrong in fighting Deborah. Another man in the village, Samuel, the headman's sister's daughter's husband, spoke, and said that Hannah must offer a chicken to Deborah because if Hannah had really known that Deborah was sleeping with the headman, surely she would have seen that Deborah was taken to court.

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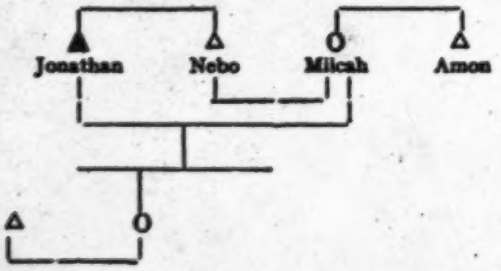

[601]

Nebo inherited the wife, Milcah, of his elder brother Jonathan. Neither brother paid bridewealth. One of the daughters of Jonathan and Milcah was married and the legalization payment for her taken by Nebo. In 1947 Nebo brought his wife to court to divorce her. He said that she was always committing adultery and he was afraid that one day he would kill her in anger. Milcah's brother Amon complained that Nebo had taken the legalization payment of Jonathan's daughter, and insisted that if there was a divorce custody of all Milcah's children should be given to him. This was accepted by the court, who told Nebo that if he wanted the children he must pay bridewealth. The divorce was granted and £3 damages awarded to Milcah. The payment of bridewealth was left undecided.

[586]

in marriage, and some people are beginning to confuse the rights originally transferred by it with the rights *in genetricem* associated with bridewealth. The vernacular term for the legalization payment (*cimalo*) is common to many tribes in the Eastern Province, whereas that for bridewealth (*malowolo*) is peculiar to the Ngoni. Bridewealth is not recorded on the marriage certificate whereas the legalization payment is. It is possible that while the rights *in genetricem* relating to the residence of the children of the marriage will remain indefinite and unenforceable, rights *in genetricem* relating to the acceptance of legalization payments for the daughters of the marriage will become attached to the legalization payment itself. This trend is illustrated by the following incident.

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Simon had been married for many years and his daughter was being sought in marriage. Simon's wife's brother Nimshi came to see him to remind him that he had not yet handed over either the legalization payment or bridewealth for his wife. Simon admitted this. Nimshi said that someone would soon be offering a legalization payment for Simon's daughter. If Simon wanted to keep the money he must first offer the legalization payment in his own marriage. Simon paid Nimshi and kept the payment for his daughter.

Here Nimshi held that the legalization payment offered by Simon entitled Simon to keep the legalization payment offered for his daughter. According to traditional usage Nimshi should have insisted that Simon paid bridewealth not merely the legalization

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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matrilineal matrilocal tribes, and the values associated with these systems of organization were not entirely forgotten. With the decline of the central power of the chieftainship after the conquest, cultural diversity within the tribe increased, so that at the present time we have a wide range of variation in the kinds of family found between one village and the next, and even within the same village. In particular, the irreconcilable difference between the organization of unilineal kin-groups on patrilineal and matrilineal principles appears to have led to a condition in which, for most of the tribe, the only groups of relatives that emerge as corporate groups are stocks, people with a common ancestor from whom they are descended through sons or daughters or both. These stocks are not mutually exclusive, and a man may think of himself at one time as belonging to one stock and at another time to another stock. Frequently alongside the true members of a stock there are other people who claim to belong to the same 'family'[1] who are in fact related affinally to the members of the stock. The organizing factor in domestic affairs is not kinship by itself but common residence combined with genealogical connexion. A stock, with its affinal accretions, emerges as the core of a corporate group of kindred only when its members live near one another and meet each other frequently. The strongest groups are those people of a stock who are living alongside one another in the same part of a village.

The use made of double affinal links in establishing attachment to a stock is noticeable. For example, a child will call a man who is his mother's divorced husband's wife's divorced husband by the term *father* (see Diagram 4 below). A man may bring into his village a wife from outside who may come with her children by a former husband. When grown up, the sons may also bring in wives accompanied by their children from former marriages. These children grow up to regard the village as their own and to think of themselves, in certain contexts, as belonging to the 'family' of the headman of the village. Informants in a village with a most complicated kinship structure will say 'We are all one family here'.

Kinship Terminology

The variation in the kinship systems of the different tribes from which the Ngoni recruited their members has led to some confusion in the use of kinship terms. Most of the terms now used are in the

[1] *Banja*, pl. *mabanja*.

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601 [197] Nsenga language,[1] but Nyanja and old Ngoni terms are also heard. The rules of application of these terms, as formulated by the people, are not always adhered to, and I found that when I challenged the accuracy of some of the kinship terms I heard being used, the speakers were quite ready to admit that the terms had been incorrect by their own rules. Here I propose to give only the Nsenga terms, in the way in which they are used when people are discussing other families, and in which to a lesser extent they are used as forms of address. It is with this meaning that the terms can be used to describe the operation of exogamy. A full account of their use must await further inquiry.

There are ten terms of wide application, and three more used in restricted contexts. These three may be translated as *husband*, *wife*, and *cross-cousin*. *Cross-cousin* is used of mother's brother's child and father's sister's child: usually the child referred to is of the sex opposite to ego. *Wife* refers to own wife, brother's wife, and brother's wife's sister, and similarly *husband* refers to own husband, sister's husband, and sister's husband's brother. Thus *husband* and *wife* are reciprocal terms, and *cross-cousin* is self-reciprocal.

The remaining terms may be grouped as follows.

1. *Father*, *mother*, and *mother's brother*, with a common reciprocal *child*.
2. The reciprocal pair *grandparent* and *grandchild*.
3. Four self-reciprocal terms, *sibling*, *sibling-in-law*, *affine*, and *child's parent-in-law*.

These have the meanings implied in their translation, but are also applied more widely, as is indicated in the diagrams. Throughout, the marriage sign is used to indicate any marriage, whether extant or terminated by death or divorce. The symbols used for vernacular terms are shown in Table II.

The way in which these terms are applied can be seen from the diagrams. In the more distant applications the genealogical connexion to ego ceases to be important, and indeed may be unknown. A man may have been told that he should call such-and-such a woman *mother*. He will then apply kinship terms to her close relatives in a systematic manner which is independent of his genealogical connexion to them. The same procedure is followed with the relatives of people called *father* or *sibling*.

[1] The same Nsenga terms seem to be used differently by the Ngoni and the Nsenga. Cf. Rangeley, *Chinsenga Handbook*, pp. 68–9, 108–9.

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TABLE II. *Principal kinship terms in Nyanga language*

Symbol	*Vernacular term*	*Basic referent and its translation*	*Reciprocal term*
F	*atate*	father	child
M	*amama*	mother	child
C	*mwana*	child	father, mother, mother's brother
PP	*ambuya*	grandparent	grandchild
CC	*mwanalu*	grandchild	grandparent
O	*mkwawe*[1]	sibling	sibling
EO	*mulamu*	sibling-in-law	sibling-in-law
EP	*nyangwai*	affine	affine
CEP	*mthalu*	child's parent-in-law	child's parent-in-law
H	*mulume*	husband	wife
W	*akazi*	wife	husband
FZC	*mwpale*	cross-cousin	cross-cousin
MB	*malume*	mother's brother	child

[1] *mkwawe* means 'our sibling'. The terms for 'your sibling' and 'his or their sibling' are *mkwawo* and *mkwalu* respectively.

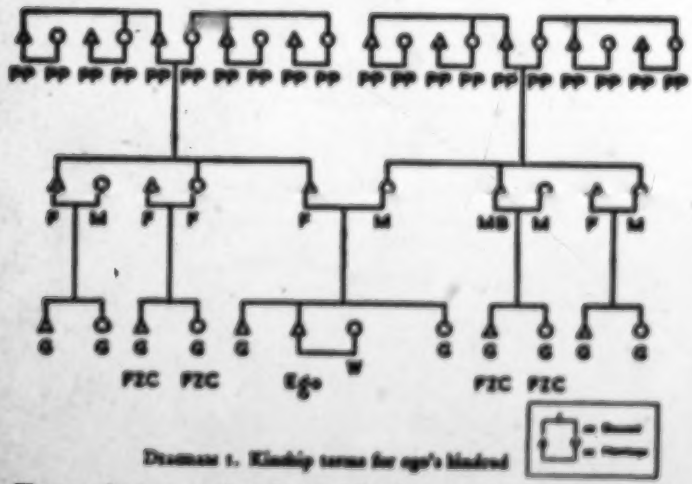

DIAGRAM 1. Kinship terms for ego's kindred

The terms for the generations after ego follow from the rule that *grandchild* is the reciprocal of *grandparent*, and *child* of *father*, *mother*, *mother's brother*. The term *sibling* is often used in place of *cross-cousin* when referring to a cousin of the same sex as ego.

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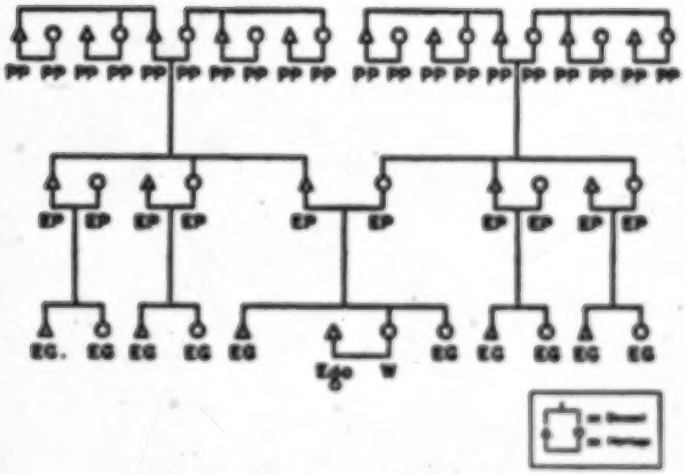

Diagram 2. Kinship terms for wife's kindred

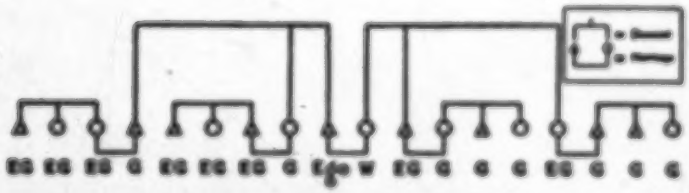

Diagram 3. Siblings and siblings-in-law

The use of sibling to describe ego's spouse's sibling's spouse is more common by men than by women.

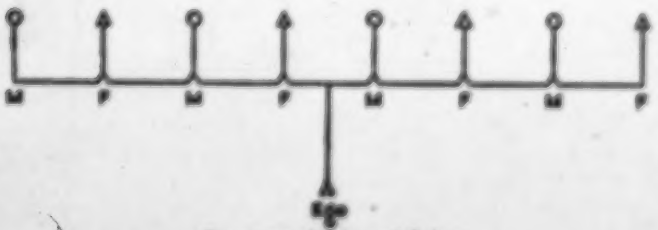

Diagram 4. Mother and father

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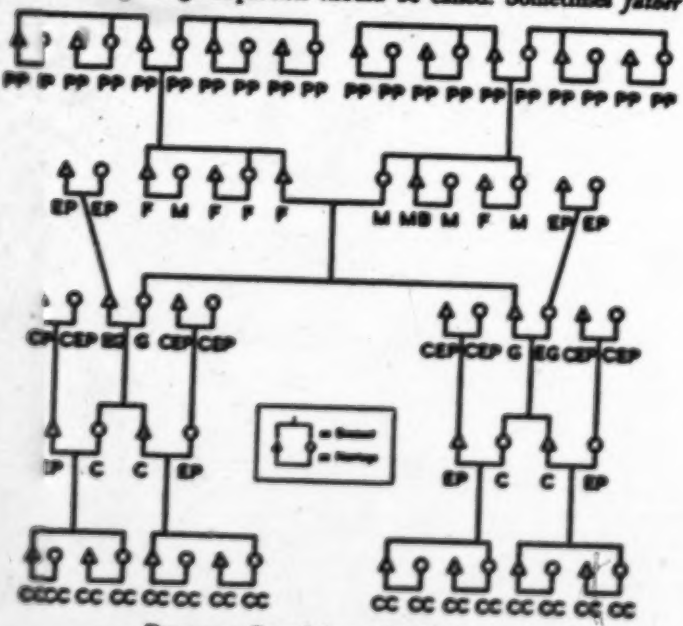
In all the diagrams ego is shown as male. There is no difference in the way these terms are used when ego is a woman, except that she calls her spouse *husband* and not *wife*. There is no consensus as to what great-grandparents should be called. Sometimes *father* 601 [183]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EP EP EG G EP EP EP EP EG G EG EP EP
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EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP EP

Diagram 5. Extended use of kinship terms

or *mother* is used, according to sex, while *others are grandparents*. Similarly, great-grandchildren are sometimes called *child*, sometimes *grandchild*.

Exogamy and Descent-names

A man may not marry anyone whom he calls *mother*, *father*, *mother's brother*, *child*, *affine*, *child's parent-in-law*, and, except for his *cross-cousins*, *sibling*. Marriage with his brother's wife's sister, whom he calls *sibling-in-law*, is allowed, but is thought to be not very satisfactory. As we have seen, these terms can be applied widely, with no theoretical limit to the extent of application. Little interest is shown, however, in tracing genealogical relationships accurately, and the sex and age of the relative referred to may affect the term used. If a 582 835 601

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582 proposed marriage appears to conflict with these rules of incest, be-
835 cause of some distant relationship between the couple, the connexion
601 may be conveniently forgotten by the parties concerned. Incestuous liaisons between people whose parents are still alive are hampered from becoming proper marriages by the refusal of the woman's parents to accept any marriage payments from the man. Similar liaisons between older people may alter the relative kinship status of other couples so that their marriages become incestuous, and they will appeal to the courts. For example, an old man married his son's wife's mother, whom he called *child's parent-in-law*. In consequence, his son and his son's wife became *sibling* to each other. The young woman refused to go on sleeping with her husband, who appealed to the court. The old man was then ordered to give up his newly acquired wife, so that his son's marriage might continue.

[601] At its widest extension, the term *sibling* is applied to any person of
551 the same descent-name as ego and of approximately the same age.
614 The other kinship terms are then applied to the relatives of this
582 nominal sibling in the usual way. However, there is no rule of exogamy applying to these nominal relatives. These descent-names have been referred to by other writers on the Ngoni as clan-names and the aggregate of people with the same descent-name as a clan. The Ngoni term for such names, *vi-ôongo*, is related to the Zulu *izi-bongo*, and many of the Ngoni descent-names are the same as the names of the clans described for the South-Eastern and Central Bantu.[1] However, among the Fort Jameson Ngoni at the present time, the category of persons formed by all those holding the same descent-name does not have any of the attributes generally attributed by modern writers to the clan. There are no clan heads, no clan exogamy, no clan taboos, no beliefs in a common origin from a legendary ancestor, no clan totems, and no correlation between clan and territory. In these conditions it seems better to use the term descent-name, as has been done for the Loni.[2] Informants state that even in the old days, when there was a closer approximation to a clan system, there was no clan exogamy. These names are normally inherited by the child from its father, and some of the names are not very common in the tribe, so that it happens that all the people bearing the one name may be the patrilineal descendants of one man. Such groups are exogamic, but this is

[1] Cf. Young, *History of the Tonga-Kamanga*, p. 143, for a classification of some of these names, on the basis of ethnic origin.

[2] Gluckman, *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain*, pp. 84–5.